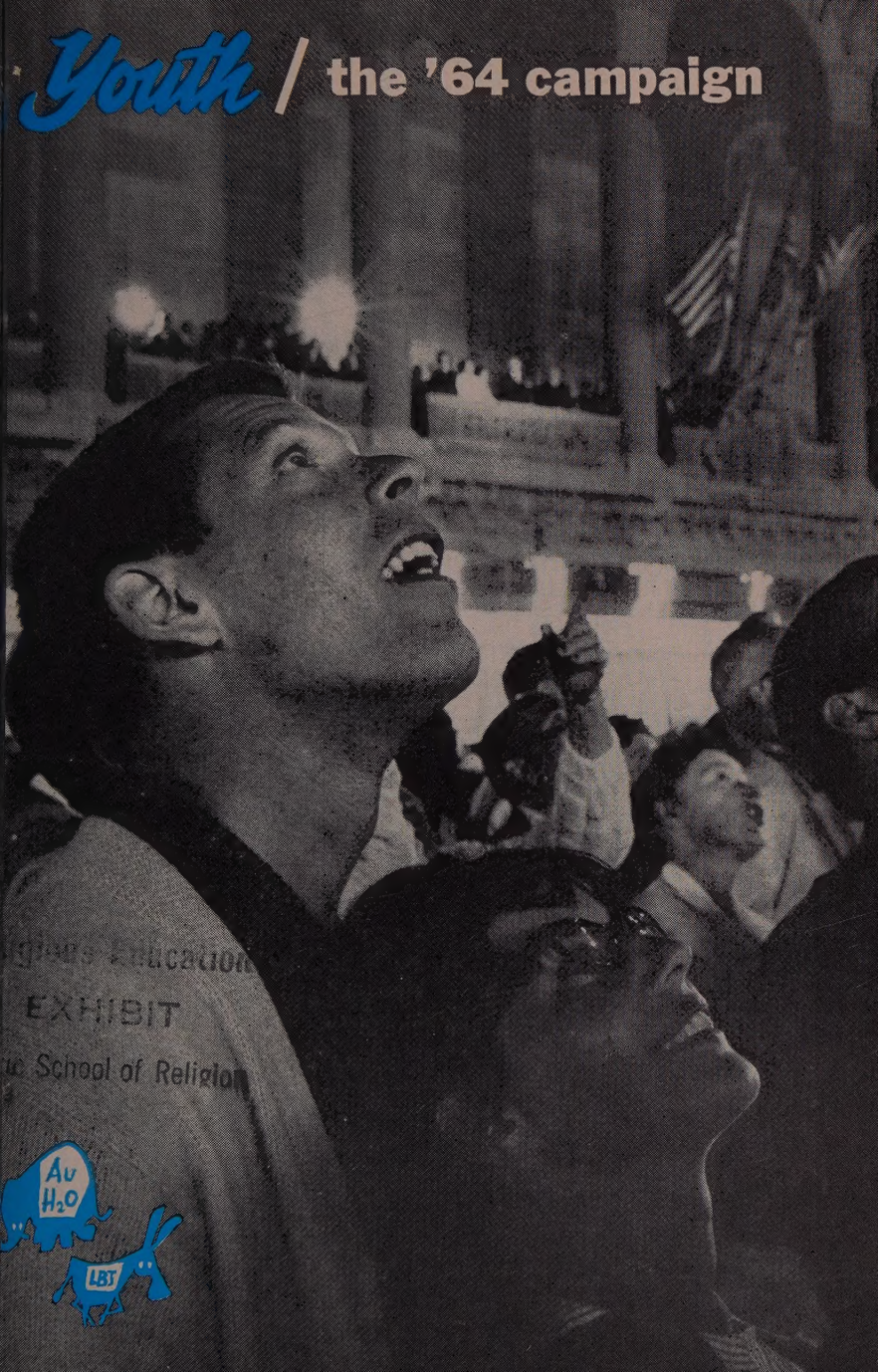
Youth / the '64 campaign



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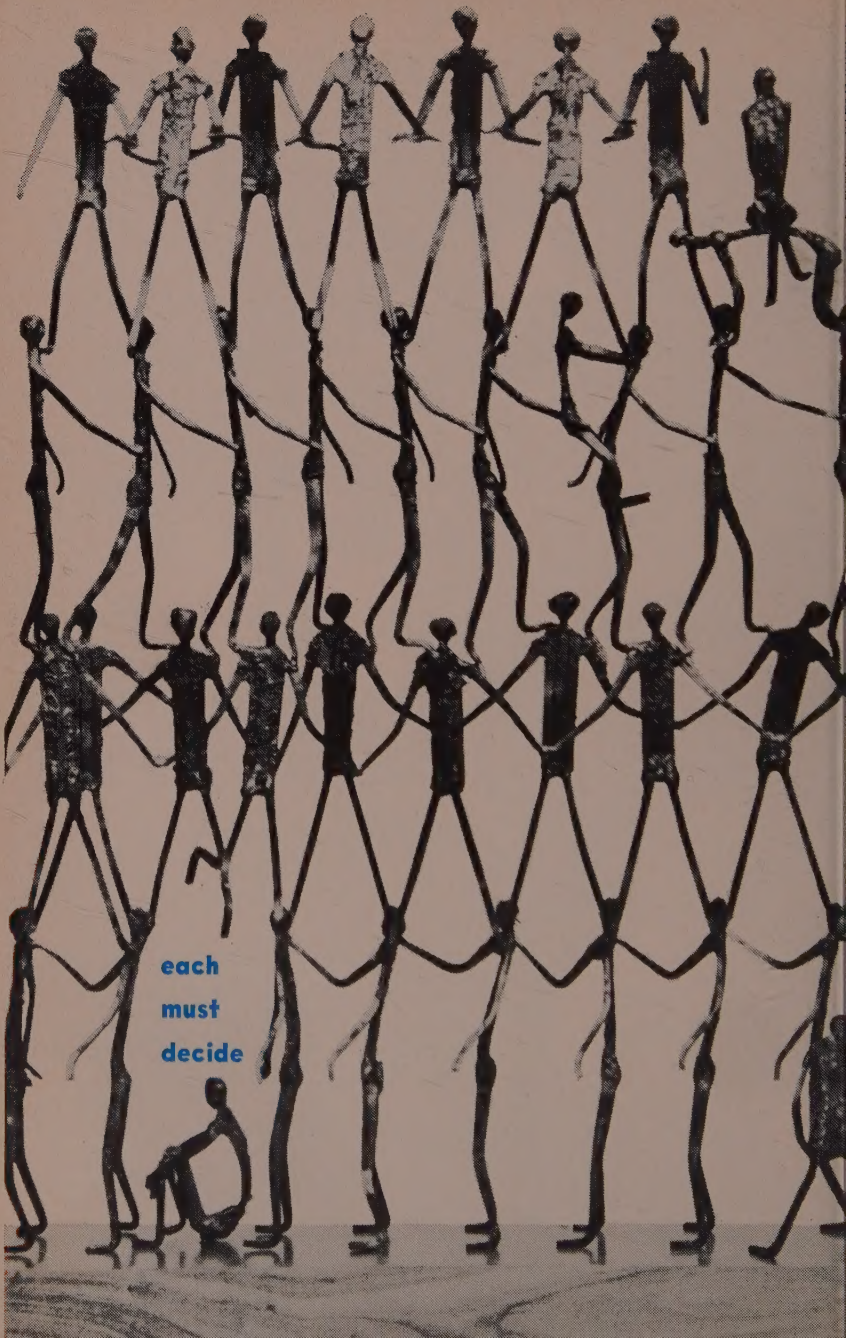
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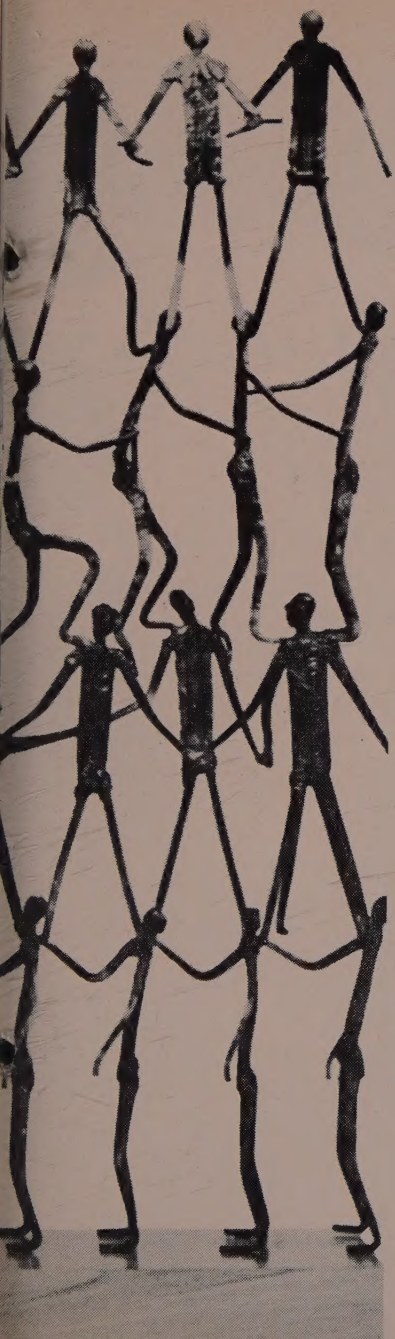

Rapid change dominates our life . . . If modern man is to exist in a world of science, human rights, and everyday standards of living, he must learn to live with change. That's why the '64 election is so decisive in our nation's history and why the '64 campaign is so emotion-packed. Deep down inside, every human being is asking himself: "Is the world changing too fast? Can I maintain the present pace of change or should I try to slow up the very process of change so that it doesn't threaten me and others so much? What can I do to make sure that all this change is taking us in the right direction?" Although change in itself is not necessarily good or bad, each of us reacts to change differently—some of us panic and flay away at the nearest target we can torment, or some of us escape to a fantasy world or some of us just don't care, or some of us turn our concern into sweating through the maze of causes and effects in order to plot a reasoned way to anticipate, adapt to, and seek to solve the problems of change. In the lives and ideas of both Presidential candidates, change has taken place. And each voter must ask which of the candidates has shown the most stability in facing change, the most wisdom in honestly analyzing the factors of change, and the most reality in proposing right directions for the future. As a teenager, you cannot vote, but you are free to think for yourself, you have equal access to the facts, and you can ask pointed questions out of your unique role of being vital to a fast-changing world.

"FABRIC OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT"
BY CLARK B. FITZ-GERALD

Youth

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my hopes and fears in the '64 campaign...

What do you fear most?

The biggest fear I have is the spiritual cancer of hate which could lead to destruction by putting race against race, religion against religion, party against party, and group against group. —*Ronnie Kramer, Tell City, Ind.*

I fear that the election will turn into a memorial for John F. Kennedy. An election is not the time or place for living in the past. President Kennedy would want us to go ahead with vigor. —*Jan Forman, Greeley, Colo.*

My biggest fear is that if the Republican ticket wins, the U. S. will have another revolution on its hands —and I don't mean with a foreign country. —*Joe Davis, Houston, Tex.*

I fear that extremists who have been causing trouble for Senator Goldwater, as well as for the whole United States, could emerge with what they consider to be a victory. —*Linda Smith, Moorhead, Minn.*

My biggest fear is that too many citizens will say "What good will my one vote do? I might as well stay at home." —*Brenda Brocksmith, Bicknell, Ind.*

What's your biggest hope?

I hope that both candidates for President make the campaign as fair and honest and clean as possible. I think it is disgraceful for a campaign to turn into a mud-slinging contest. —*Paulette Koblet, Marion, Ill.*

My biggest hope is that President Johnson will win by a large margin in both North and South thus forever eliminating civil rights as an election issue. —*Carol Haas, Allentown, Pa.*

I hope that every American will realize that our country's government was founded on faith in the basic ideals of the ordinary citizen. This is the key to the survival of American democracy. —*Marcia Clemmitt, Canton, Ohio*

My biggest hope is that the people of this country will vote for the man, not the party, making this democratic institution an "election, not a selection." —*Richard Shaefer, St. Louis, Mo.*

I hope that the candidates will spend more time telling what they stand for, and not say so much about what is wrong with the person who is running against him. —*Lois Winnecke, Foristell, Mo.*

What aspect of the '64 campaign is most ironic (funny yet sad)?

This is the first year that poverty and prosperity have both been campaign issues. —*Leah Gurrie, Chicago, Ill.*

I feel it is ironic that in this supposedly very democratic nation that the candidates for the highest office in our land be selected in such an undemocratic manner at the party conventions. —*Sue Harvey, Cadillac, Mich.*

Most ironic? The inability of people to distinguish politicking from political belief. —*Gordon Quimby, Wolfeboro Falls, N. H.*

TO BY ED ECKSTEIN

the irony of it all .

I think it is extremely ironic that t people who are trying to fight co munism are in essence aiding it instilling unwarranted fear amo the American people. —*Timothy Ke*
Freeburg, Ill.

That Johnson and Humphrey battl Kennedy tooth and nail for the pre dential nomination in 1960 and n they are both in because of Mr. Ke nedy's tragic and untimely death.
—*Allan Widlits,*
Portland, Ore.

Ironic is the fact that millions Americans will be going to the po in November to exercise a freedo which originated with our count and still people will be refused t right to vote because of their race.
—*Nadine Swanson,*
Rock Springs, Wyo

Ironic is the fact that a Southe Democrat stands as the champion civil rights for the Negro.
—*Michael Anesi*
Cadillac, Mich

The most ironic aspect of the ca paign is that many people feel t the "better" man will not be t "best" man. —*Barbara Waidelich*
Naugatuck, Conn.

What I plan to do . . .

Wake up my parents. —*Sue Ketchum*
Dodgeville, W

I shall wear buttons and display p ters showing whom I am for. Al I shall write to my candidate a give my praise and encouragemen
—*David Hydinger*
Sandusky, Ohio

I am a member of the Young Repu licans and by attending meetings a helping with odd jobs, I will hav small part in the campaign.
—*Dolores Olson*
Billings, Mon

l what I can do . . .

My sister and I assisted in the typing up of voter registration lists. I am helping to organize a Teen-Age Democrat Club. I plan to participate in a campaign and do as much as I possibly can to elect Lyndon Johnson.

—*Franna Ruddell,*
Spearfish, S. D.

Persuasion is one means of participation for non-voters. —*Karen Moon,*
Simi, Calif.

Although I do not belong to an organized political youth group, I try my best to get people to tell me their views on this year's election—and this often leads to quite "heated" arguments. What disgusts me most is that nine out of ten people my age "couldn't care less" who wins!

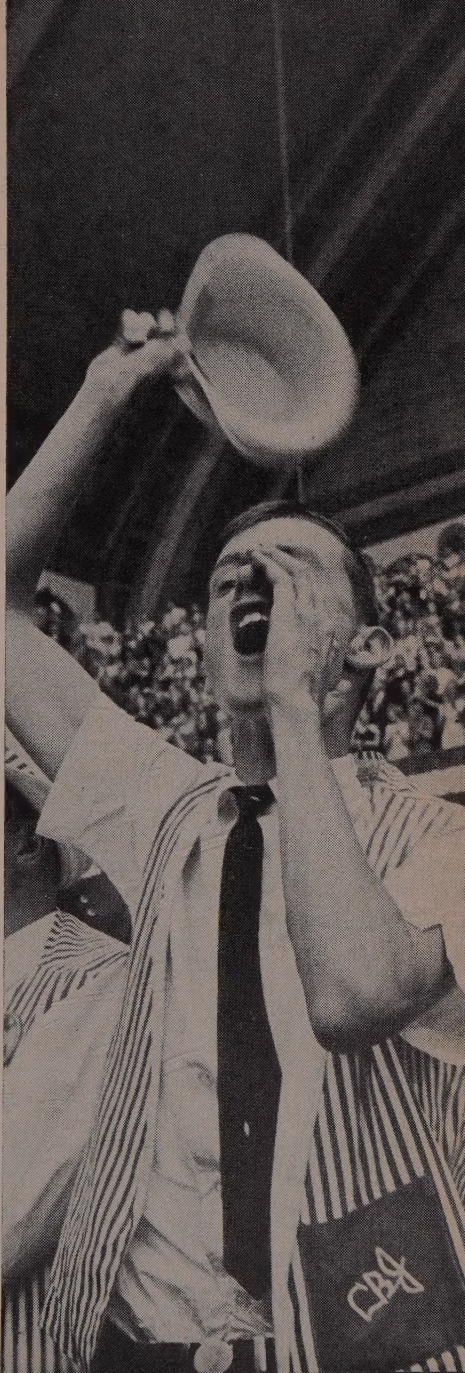
—*Gary Mantz,*
Summit Hills, Pa.

Through schools and churches in my community, a group of teenagers went from door to door encouraging people to register and also gave certain pieces of information on the candidates. —*Daisy McCray,*
Raleigh, N. C.

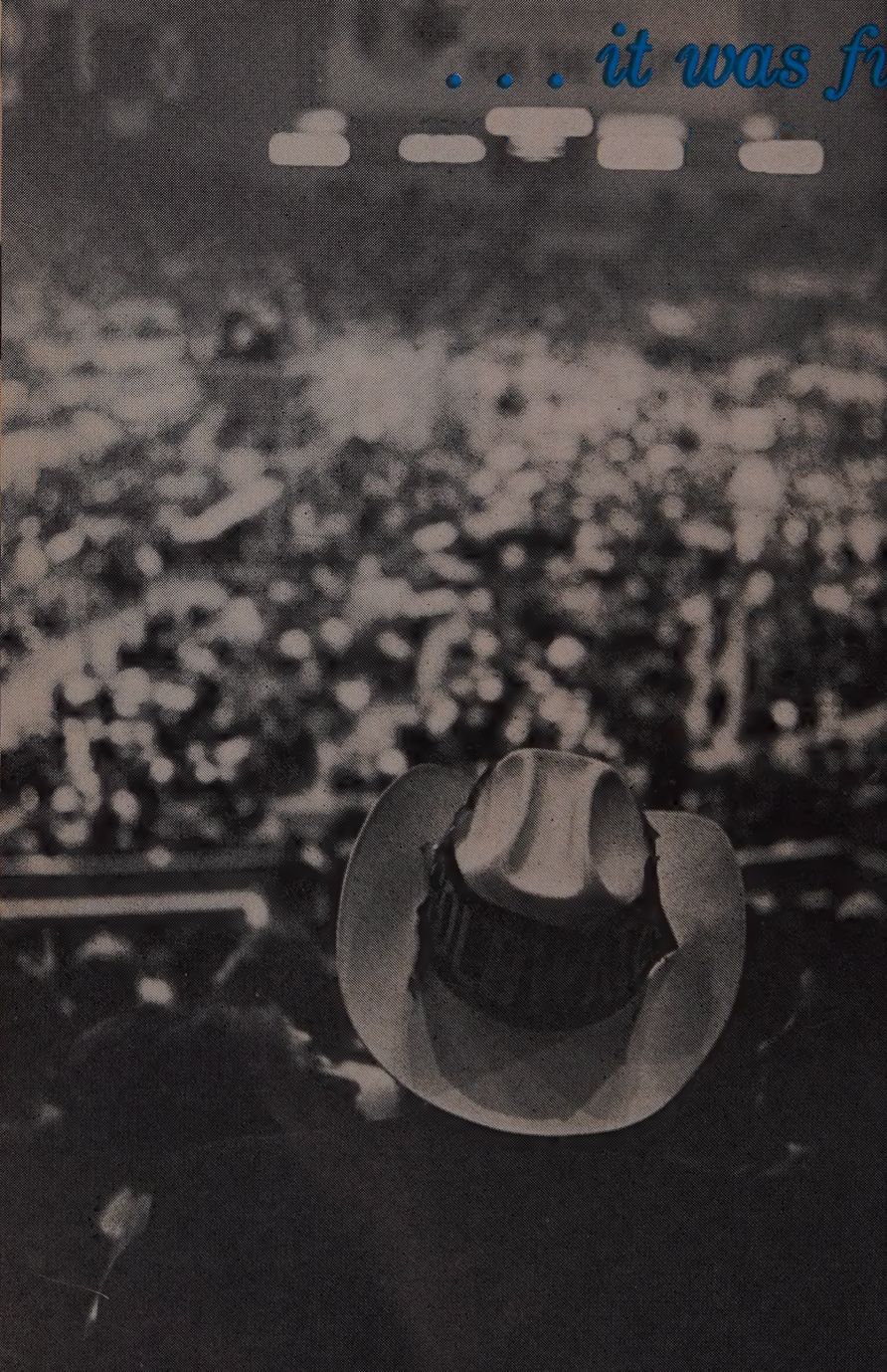
I will be working with our American problems of democracy class in school to run a poll and our class will also be taking people to the polls to vote in November. —*Carol Taylor,*
Lusk, Wyo.

I am a member of our school newspaper staff and I am writing editorials urging other students to consider their political beliefs so that we influence our parents to take an enthusiastic interest and vote.

—*Alice Hastings,*
Huron, S. D.



PHOTOS BY KEN THOMPSON


. . . it was fi

While it lasted/by DEWEY WATSON

If there is one experience that every American youth should try to have, it is being present at a national nominating convention of one of our political parties. Okay, so the big show is run from above. What is important is that you're there! You experience, along with the politicians, the thrill of a demonstration or a national interview. You feel within you a tension or a sympathy which even the fantastic television coverage cannot convey. You live some of our nation's greatest moments of glory as they rise out of the convention. Sophisticates will chastise the system as being a non-representative, zany farce which makes America look like a bumpkin, but these critics can't deny that this system has never failed to turn out four men who, for four months, will pit their words, actions and lives against each other for the two highest offices in the land. It may be zany, it may be bumpkinish, it may be a big show, but it makes the hard core politics of kingmakers exciting and alive to every participant.

When I first realized that I could be in San Francisco during the convention without too much expense, I started working on some appointment which would get me into the Cow Palace. My state, Hawaii, has fewer positions to offer than almost any other, but on the other hand, has proportionately fewer people who can get away. In relation to its size, each state is given a certain number of positions, i.e., Page, Assistant Sergeant at Arms, and Assistant Doorkeeper. In addition to these there are about 600 honorary positions given out nationally under the title Honorary Assistant Sergeant at Arms. Most states hand out appointments to the children of politicians or to state legislators who weren't elected to be either delegates or alternates. Fortunately for me, Hawaii doesn't practice too much favoritism, and I was able to obtain an Honorary Assistant Sergeant at Arms appointment based on my work with the party. I had to foot my own bill, but I figured the education was more than worth it. As a member of the National Youth Forum Board of the United Church of Christ, I had my way paid to the National Youth Forum in Washington, D. C.

Senator Everett Dirkson and I arrived in San Francisco at the same time. I knew the Goldwater girls weren't greeting me, so I stayed to watch the interview, my first taste of what was to become a common event.

One of my first interests on arriving was finding out the duties of my appointment. Naturally, I was a bit surprised to learn, after receiving my credentials, that honorary positions have no duties. I received a pass and a badge: the badge was nothing more than a souvenir; the pass entitled me to be at any place in the Cow Palace at any time I wanted. This did *not* include the strictly forbidden floor of the convention, which was limited to delegates and alternates. The pass became essential too. In entering the gallery, five checks were made of your pass. Security was fantastic!

Not many of the actual proceedings of the convention are that exciting. Most of the many speeches and prayers, if you listen to them, and few

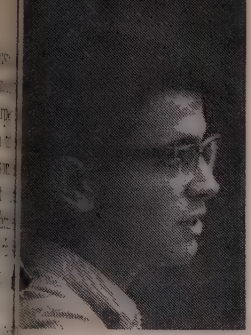
PHOTO BY KEN THOMPSON

people do, are long, windy, and unbelievably repetitious. The televisior ignores most of them, and it is perhaps for this reason that I spent mucl of my time in the CBS TV lounge where, along with a comfortable carpet there were four TV sets to keep people at the Cow Palace abreast on the wheelings and dealings of the candidates back in town. Whenever some action was reported in a certain area, I would rush over to check it out. I kept me hopping, but it also gave me a chance to see all of the little incidents which will go down in history as reflections of the tension of this convention. From a fire, to a demonstration, to a faked pass, I tried to be where the action was.

Dominating the entire convention were the three mammoth glass cages housing the six commentators of the three major networks. They could be seen from almost anywhere in the Cow Palace and somehow in their vast prominence, alone and untouched by the furor, they left an impression that the proceedings below were comically insignificant.

The younger people I met at this convention were mainly representative of the great masses who have been working in the Youth-for-Goldwater movement. Most were college age, but many were in high school. Their fanatic support of "Barry" has led some people to call them neo-fascists. This, of course, is ridiculous. They are nothing more than youth on the move with a cause. There were many like them in the Scranton camp. There just happened to be more of Barry's boys and girls than Scranton's. More than any other in history, this convention was representative of America's youth playing a leading role in politics. It was the screaming, shouting, zealous youth who continually kept the delegates on their toes. It almost appears that over the past few years, it was the active support of youth in their teens and early twenties who gave Barry Goldwater the nomination. Except on the convention floor, there was almost nowhere in San Francisco that one of the many thousands of youth who had piled into the city could not be found. Most came without any hope of ever even getting into the Cow Palace, just wanting to be in the city when their boy "Barry" got the nomination. Well, he got it, and I will always contend that it was a great segment of America's youth who gave it to him.

Because I occupied an official position, even if it was on the bottom of the list of official positions, I found it much more diplomatic not to openly support anybody, except my own state's favorite son, Senator Hiram Fong. Through supporting him, I was able to get onto the floor and participate in his nomination for President. The Senator's demonstration, the third of the day, was a welcome relief to the whole convention. Goldwater had been first, followed by his opposite in political thinking, Nelson Rockefeller. The tension between these two rival camps was straining on the delegates who supported either one. As if to relieve the pressure, Hawaii came next with its favorite son nomination of Senator Fong. The delegates joined in chanting "We Want Fong!" and smiles broke out on everybody's faces. The tensions, temporarily, had been lifted. It made me feel a lot better



"You can't run a nation by letting someone else do it!"

Dewey Watson, 18,
Honolulu, Hawaii

about the convention and left not quite as bitter a taste in everyone's mouth.

By eluding the Sergeant at Arms, I was able to stay on the floor for a couple of hours—enough time to see the bobby-soxers for Senator Smith and to finally participate with as loud a voice as I could in the campaign of Governor William Scranton. The smiling faces of people who believed as I did, of people whom I admired for their efforts despite the overwhelming odds, were a joy to see as, chanting, we bounced our posters up and down. Shortly after the Scranton demonstration, I was nabbed by a Sergeant at Arms and removed from the floor into the gallery. It was great while it lasted! To this day, I cannot feel capable of supporting my party's choice. What he stands for, but more important what the vast majority of the youth and adults who were there stand for, would be too much of a compromise of my ideals for me to follow him. There were times in the convention when I actually felt sick, as with the booing and yelling "communist" at Governor Rockefeller by the Young Americans for Freedom sitting around me, as the Governor struggled to put into the platform a strong statement on human rights. The Governor, to me, is both a great man and, what I felt some of the jeerers should have had the courtesy to remember, a great Republican. There were moments of glory, like Governor Hatfield's beautiful call to Republicans to unite against extremism. The Birchist sitting next to me could only spit at this point; I could only beam with pride to know that my party could still stand for individual liberty.

The 1964 Republican National Convention was an education in revolution. At times the "revolution" disgusted me to the point that I had to leave the arena; at other times I was filled with an enormous pride in being an American and, of my own volition, a member of the Republican Party. The party of Lincoln, as I know it, lost at San Francisco, but in this failure, I learned an important lesson. You cannot run a nation or a party by "letting the other person do it." This is what we liberals did for the past four years. We lost a party and now for the sake of the two-party system in America, it is our duty to fight even harder for true Republicanism. From the precinct to the National Committee, we who believe as he did should band together to re-create the party of Lincoln. ▼

why I support Goldwater . .

I feel that this country needs a conservative. A person that knows what i right and will stand up for it. It is about time that someone gets toug with the foreign relations people. This does not mean "war" as most peopl think.—*Barb Lusk, Troy, Ohio*

I am impressed with Goldwater's sincerity and the consistency of his votin record. I feel he is the best man to halt the rapid movement toward socia ism which is characterized by increased government spending and broade welfare programs—programs which would not be needed if people wer willing to work harder on the local level. Goldwater also has sound argu ments on the support of NATO and the defense of Vietnam.—*Linda Duk Kent, Ohio.*

I'm for Goldwater because he has definite plans which I understand an support. When he says "revert" to the status of former days, I know tha he means a return to non-socialistic trends.—*Shirley Stuber, St. Joseph, M*

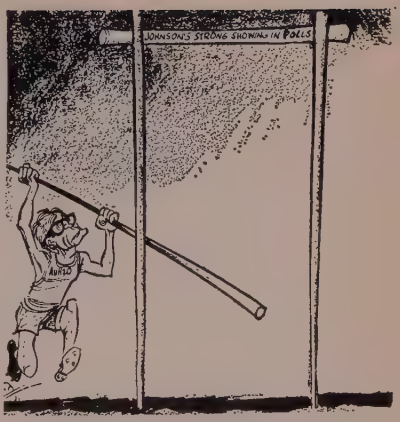
I support Goldwater because he is a conservative and he is what we nee to bring America back to the real freedoms of the individual man and n give freedom to the minority who are against everything. I'm speaking the racial situation and of communism creeping slowly in.—*Sandra Schmid Burlington, N. C.*

I believe the federal government should be weakened and Goldwater is th man to do the job.—*Robbie Seavers, Pinedale, Wyo.*

I believe that the present administration does not deal effectively wit communism and foreign affairs. I'm fed up with unilateral disarmamen and appeasement and I believe a Goldwater administration would raise o prestige abroad.—*James Aukerman, Kingston, R. I.*

My views of the major campaign issues are as follows: *Civil Rights*—th present administration did not promote civil rights legislation until force to do so by violence and unrest; *foreign affairs*—much of our foreign a money has been wasted; *budget*—all deficit spending is bad and a greate effort must be made to keep a balanced budget; *federal aid to education*— federal aid to private and parochial schools weaken public education an federal aid to public schools may lead to federal control of educatio *agriculture and crop control*—the administration's crop control program too expensive and a land-retirement program is needed; *medical care f the aged*—if medical care for the aged were placed under the Soci Security System, socialized medicine would be the outcome.—*Marc Clemmitt, Canton, Ohio*

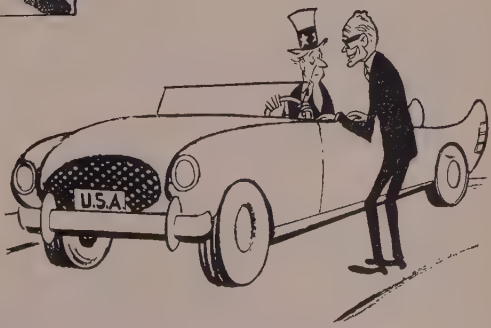
Goldwater understands the dangers, both foreign and domestic, whic threaten our republic and our civilization; he has the plans and the courag to avert these perils and to assure America's continued strength, vitali and basic goodness.—*Blake Gould, Morrisville, Vt.*



Osrin in *The Plain Dealer*, Cleveland, Ohio

"The POLL vaulter."

"Look! The Senator's taking another firm stand!"



"I hope to drive this some day—how's the reverse work?"

Fawcett in *The Providence Journal-Bulletin*

a conventio

carnival, a reality/ by PAUL SPIKE

onvention Hall is a mammoth building. At dusk it stands stubbornly, mistakably against the greying sky. Some might call it a marble palace; hers would compare it to a frighteningly huge trailer truck. No matter hat one's opinion of its architectural merit is, everyone must concur that is certainly a strange structure to find on a sandy beach.

The 1964 Democratic Convention met in Atlantic City, in Convention all. Every state and every territory of the United States sent delegates. very lobby group in the country, from labor to civil rights to fundamenlist Christians, sent their representatives. Thousands of people came just o see what this 'convention business' was all about. Atlantic City's fullme residents, a large proportion of them Negro, were all there. Let it uffice to say that for four days in August of 1964 a great percentage of merica's population stood beside the mighty walls of Convention Hall.

The Democratic Convention was held in order to nominate the party's andidates for the offices of President and Vice-President. Thus one would uspect that there would have been a great deal of suspense in the city. However, this year everyone at the Convention, everyone in the nation, new that Lyndon Baines Johnson, President of the United States, would e drafted by his party to try and renew his office in November. Thus the nly mystery left was who would be nominated as Vice-President. But ere again the most popular and most logical choice, Hubert Humphrey, enator from Minnesota, was the one whom President Johnson chose to be is running mate.

It is an interesting paradox that the "liberal" Democrats held a rather onservative convention whereas their rivals, the "conservative" Republicans, reated quite an uproar this July in San Francisco. What excitement there vas at this awesome Democratic political gathering was generated by an npolitical force: civil rights. A group called the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party wanted its delegates seated in place of the regular Mississippi delegates. The Democratic Party in Mississippi, claimed the Freedom Party, had discriminated against Negroes in choosing delegates. t certainly appeared to be a just claim as only the Mississippi and Alabama elegations did not include a single Negro. Along with racial discrimination, here was quite a bit of doubt as to whether Mississippi and Alabama Democrats would support Johnson because of his liberal stand on civil ights. Thus did the Convention arrange a compromise. Mississippi's and abama's delegations were asked to sign oaths saying they would support he Democratic candidates in November. The Freedom Democratic Party vas awarded two seats as delegates-at-large without the right to vote.

The compromise was unsuccessful. The entire Mississippi delegation and ll but three of the Alabama delegation walked out of Atlantic City. They ecried the 'unfair' treatment which had singled them out to sign a oyalty oath. The Freedom Party refused to be seated without vote for

O BY KEN THOMPSON

they represented thousands of people in Mississippi. Likewise, did the resent being classed as delegates-at-large along with territories such a Guam and Puerto Rico. Thus it became clear that these freedom fighter not yet past the anguish and shock of the three murdered boys in Missi sippi, could act like politicians for only so long. They had risked the lives too often to be content with a token grant of two seats.

Such was the excitement inside Convention Hall. It was not a thrillin excitement, rather a queasy feeling in one's stomach for the conflict insic the Hall was almost an artificial one. It was a conflict produced by th tragedy and ugliness in Mississippi and the rest of the South.

While the wheelings and dealings which took place inside the migh fortress of Convention Hall often seemed rather isolated and unreal, outsic everything was much too real. Yet the reality of Atlantic City, of the boar walk and the motels, the pinball machines and the clip joints was far fro comforting. Atlantic City is truly a city in all but one respect: there a no factories nor are there any office buildings. It is a resort city who chief industry is tourists. The Chamber of Commerce would tell you th what pervaded the streets of Atlantic City between August 24th an August 27th was 'a carnival atmosphere.' But of course the hotel indust could not thrive without the existence of some kind of 'atmosphere' f which people are willing to pay.

A political convention is supposed to be a serious phenomena. Yet was obvious that this one was merely a formality, one which Lyndo Johnson needed in order to run in November. Everything inside the Ha was geared to be seen by a television audience. The Convention was fo days of free television advertising for the coming campaign. Thus th people who left their television sets and came to Atlantic City came e pecting to get involved in this 'carnival,' to have fun and perhaps see few political celebrities. Thus was the boardwalk filled with serious peop after all, people who were seriously in quest of a good time. Consequent one would suppose that everyone was so intent that nobody really ha too much fun.

If one sat on the beach in Atlantic City he found himself between tw great rivals: the ocean and the boardwalk. The Atlantic was glistenin blue, broken here and there by bands of roaring white breakers, a limitless in perspective. It was as good, as strong and beautiful an oce as one could ever hope to find. But relatively few who came to th Convention ventured into the surf. In fact, the best part of Atlantic Cit its beach, was hardly noticed.

Instead, there was a man-made beach built of wood: the boardwal Along this strode the crowds. What they swam in was not the Atlan but the yellow and orange neon-lit amusement parlors, pizza joints, souve shops and the inevitable hotels. Instead of tumbling about amongst t waves, men and women jiggled little silver balls around glass-topp pinball machines. Even if a person went into the water, he could n escape the neon surf for on both sides of him jutted out tremendo

"Inside the big hall the conflict seemed almost artificial"

Paul Spike, '16,
Tenafly, N. J.

amusement' piers. This was the reality which the gargantuan Convention Hall excluded, which the television cameras avoided. It was a sad reality, and because in the midst of all these amusements not many appeared amused; few smiles were visible; most just seemed intent. The neon lights made the faces in the crowd glow rather orange. Maybe that's what the carnival atmosphere' was.

Only one group on the boardwalk seemed comparatively content and sure of what they were doing there. This was the civil rights vigil. Varying in size from 50 to, at times, hundreds of people, the vigil lasted day and night through the four days of the convention. Many had recently returned from Mississippi; many others were simply visitors to the Convention who gave up a little of the 'carnival' in order to get involved. Most were students. They were there in part to support the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. So too were they there to show their determination to the leaders of the Democratic Party. The freedom movement has made many gains in the past four years, including the recent Civil Rights Bill. But many things must still be accomplished in the coming years. The vigil strove to impress this fact on the Democrats.

It was a very orderly demonstration and also a strangely moving one. Most of the time the demonstrators stood silently in orderly ranks. Everyone held a sign. There was no smoking. At other times, very early in the morning when the boardwalk was empty and stars could be seen rather than flashing signs, they would sit in a large circle. People leaned on each others' backs, wrapped themselves in blankets and sipped coffee. Freedom songs were sung softly in order to keep awake and aware of their purpose.

At the very rear of the wide area where the vigil was held, in front of the Hall, was a small, bronze bust of the late John F. Kennedy. It faced over the heads of the demonstrators, directly at the looming facade of Convention Hall in confrontation. What will be resolved by this meeting between a late President's memory and a huge building's presence is not known. Yet somehow they seemed as directly opposed as the sand to the boards, the surf to the neon, or the 1964 Democratic Convention to a serious reality. ▼

why I support Johnson . . .

In my study of the candidates' policies and statements, I feel that Presider Johnson is honestly attempting to bring about prosperity and peace to th people of America. Senator Goldwater's conservative ideals fail to tak into account that without government aid many projects would have faile to have been created because of lack of local and state capital, and I d not agree with the Senator that such ideas are the foundations of ou country.—*Jan Forman, Greeley, Colo.*

I believe that since taking over as President, Mr. Johnson has shown th United States the kind of leadership—in civil rights, in foreign affairs (Vie nam), in domestic concern (war on poverty)—that it needs to remain powerful world leader. Furthermore, the U. S. does not need to maintai this position of world leadership through strength display or tough ta as Mr. Goldwater has suggested.—*Gordon Quimby, Wolfeboro Falls, N.H*

Although I consider myself more of a Republican than a Democrat, I ca not support the Goldwater Republicanism. Especially in the areas of civ rights and foreign policy, I have more faith in the President than in th Senator. I doubt that Senator Goldwater could provide the strong positiv leadership and whole-hearted support that are definitely needed to enforc the civil rights bill. I also feel that Senator Goldwater has much to lea about being tactful, thinking before he speaks, and saying exactly wh he means the first time he says something.—*Linda Smith, Moorhead, Min*

What do we as members of the "world community" look for as the qualiti necessary to be a leader of our nation? Are we looking for isolationi tendencies? Are we looking for return to 19th century policies? Can w as a nation sit back and allow the rest of the world to suffer? Can w allow the injustices which beset our nation and the world to continue u fought and untouched? It is not time for us to live in a state of fear our own country or fear in our world; it is time for us to accept a bas faith in mankind by working to make our nation and world a better pla to live in. Now is the moment of decision. Make this decision not out any personal reasons or fears; make it out of the conscientious thinking a responsible citizen of our nation and our world. Your thoughts cou Express them on November 3!—*Peter Hayn, Keene, N. H.*

We cannot afford to put into the highest office of the land a man who quick-tempered, impulsive, and inexperienced in dealing with problems th Lyndon Johnson has handled for the past four years. Therefore, let us ele the man who has proven himself a leader who will not only give us t confidence we need but also the leadership we must have to face our gre complex of problems.—*Gary A. Mantz, Summit Hill, Pa.*

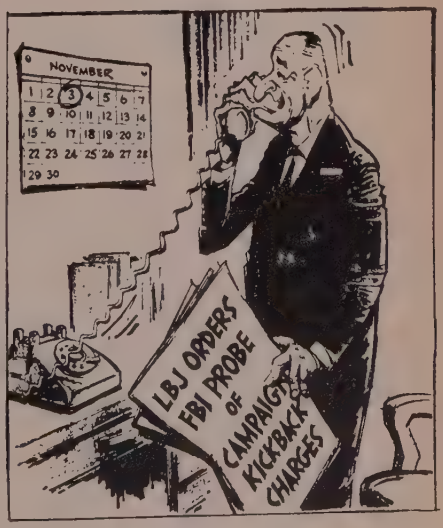
mon . . . join me pal!
ell you it's really mellowed!"

Jim Berry, Newspaper Enterprise Association

"Daddy, when our guests leave, promise not to say, 'Y'all hurreh back, heah?'"

s easy once you get
hang of it."

Conrad in *The Los Angeles Times* by permission of the Register and Tribune Syndicate



"Any time after the third will be fine, J. Edgar . . .!"

BIBLE AND BALLOT

by ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

"Religion and politics don't mix."

"The job of minister is to 'preach the gospel' and not to get concern about politics."

"Politics is too 'messy' for the Christian."

These statements are dangerous nonsense.

They are *nonsense* because they ignore the fact that the minute you ta "religion" seriously, you've got to be concerned about your fellow me and in our kind of world concern for fellow men inevitably means conce with the political arena in which men live. Since the "gospel" is concern not only with individuals, but with individuals in their social relationship it must be relevant to the way people order their social relationships politics and government.

They are *dangerous,* because they mean that religion is irrelevant one of the most important areas of modern life. The decisions made Congress, for example, effect the destinies of millions of people across t face of the earth. No Christian has the moral privilege of being unco cerned about that fact, or of claiming that politics is so "messy" that t Christian must not soil his hands by getting too close to it. On the contrar the Christian must demonstrate that politics can be a "realm of grace," place where, at least in a roughhewn way, men can attempt to do t will of God.

An important word of caution is necessary as we begin: The Bil does not give us a blueprint, or a detailed map, or a constitution for "Christian political order." Whenever you find someone quoting isolat bits of Scripture to "prove" a point with regard to some specific piece legislation, you are entitled to be suspicious. . . There is no "ready-mad plan for society in the pages of the Bible.

But this does not mean that the Bible is irrelevant. Far from it! For t Bible gives us an indication of the attitudes, the concerns, the motivatio that must inform and direct the kinds of decisions we make on speci issues. One Christian may feel that his concern for minority groups can b be implemented through participation in the Democratic party, while a other may feel that the best ends can be achieved by the Republicans, and third may prefer to remain independent. What none of these people c claim is that the Biblical concern for all men is made effective only throu the Democratic party or only through the Republican party or only maintaining political independence. The Bible does make clear that y must have an attitude of concern for all men, and a particular concern f

PHOTO BY KEN THO

religion and politics mix?

We don't fulfill God's will by twiddling our thumbs until things are tidied up

the downtrodden. Once that is established, then you have to work out yourself, as honestly and intelligently as you can, how, within the structu of the society you live in, you can best implement that concern.

For example, the fundamental Biblical emphasis that "the earth is Lord's and the fulness thereof" (Ps. 24: 1) is both a religious and political statement. The earth is not ours to use in such a way that we ploit our fellow men and make life on earth a hell. How can we live gether in a world that is *God's* world? Similarly, the recurring ther "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" (Lev. 19: 18; Luke 10: 27), both religious and political. In what kind of social situation, in what po ical framework, can I best implement my concern for my neighbor?

"No Other Gods": Let us frame our discussion of Biblical faith a political responsibility around the first of the Ten Commandments, sin while it seems to be simply "religious," it is actually one of the m "political" statements in the whole Bible.

> I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egy out of the house of bondage. *You shall have no other gods before* (Ex. 20: 2, 3, italics added).

What does this mean? It means that there is but one God, the living G of Hebrew history. Absolute allegiance must be given to him, and to one else. *Only to the living God can final and unqualified allegiance given.* What does this have to do with politics? Everything.

It means that we can never give our final allegiance to any politi system, any economic system, any set of political or social ideals, a nation or group of nations. Our final allegiance belongs to God alone. we give it to someone else, or something else, that person or thing takes place of God in our lives. And from the standpoint of Biblical faith, thi idolatry: the worship of an idol or a false god. "My native land" is God, therefore I may not give final allegiance to my native land. T attitude "My country, right or wrong" is an un-Biblical attitude, whet the country is Russia or Germany or India or . . . America. The Socia (or Republican or Democratic or Prohibition) party is not God, therefor may not be a completely uncritical party member. "My party, right wrong," is also un-Biblical. The temptation is always to make some m made object (a country, a political system) into an object of final allegiar This is idolatry whether in the seventh centrury B. C. or in the 2 century A. D. The Christian may worship only the living God. . . .

The earliest Christian "creed" of which we have any record rea "Jesus is Lord." Jesus, not Caesar. The Christian was saying, "I will give unconditional allegiance to Caesar; but I *will* give unconditio

giance to Jesus." To make a statement of faith in those days meant to nvolved in politics! Charges were brought against a group of Christians Thessalonica, for example, that "they are all acting against the decrees Caesar, saying that there is another king, Jesus" (Acts 17: 7). Obviously, sar couldn't have *that* sort of thing going on. Luke adds, "And people the city authorities were disturbed when they heard this" (Acts 17: 8). bet they were! Christianity was risky business in the first century. . . .

he Necessity of "Involvement": But there is more to it than just that. what we have said so far might lead someone to say: "I can't be in-ed in the messy business of government or politics. It's too sordid. say no all the time." And this would be a tragic distortion of Biblical h. Consequently, another thing the Bible tells us which is relevant to itical responsibility is that *we must be involved in life about us.* We can-be side-line Christians. The main themes of the Bible all imply this. ok at just a few of them.

The Biblical emphasis on the *importance of history* stresses this. History where God works; he is concerned about what happens here. He has ced us in history and given us work to do right here and now. We udiate our God-given responsibility if we "take a rain check," or refuse be involved. . . .

This emphasis suggests that *how people live together is a religious blem.* If people are hungry, that is a religious problem; if people do have decent housing, that is a religious problem; if people who have k skins are not allowed to eat in restaurants with people who have t skins, that is a religious problem—because God loves *all* his children, has given us a large share of responsibility in ordering our social life ether.

The conclusion should not be hard to draw. The Christian must busy nself with the realm of life in which these issues are debated, and ided. And in the 20th century this is the realm of politics. This means t the Christian who is trying to "think Biblically" about politics must e the obligations of citizenship seriously. He must work to see that ponsible people are nominated for office, campaign to get them elected, e for them, and put pressures on them once they are in office. He may n feel that it is his Christian vocation to run for office himself.

That Christians must all have this concern does not mean . . . that ristians are all going to have identical attitudes about specific legislation Christians may have legitimate differences of opinion. The unpardon-sin is to be unconcerned, and therefore uninvolved.

The Problem of Compromise: "But," someone says, "If I get involved way, I may have to compromise my principles." And it is true that "best" or "ideal" course of action is not a possibility very often in the e-and-take of political life. Almost any political choice will involve mpromise." For which of the two following men would you vote as yor of your town?

Our final allegiance belongs to God alone—not to any political party or nation

> *Candidate A*: He believes that Negroes should be able to swim in public swimming pool and that there shouldn't be "restrict housing covenants, so that Jews are forbidden to live in the "nic parts of town, but he drinks excessively and isn't much of a chur man.
>
> *Candidate B*: He has been a lifelong member of First Church, i member of the board of trustees, and is a teetotaler, but he belie in racial segregation and thinks that the Jews should be "kept their place."

For whom do you vote? Either way you vote, you will be compromis some of your belief.

And there is your problem! For there is no candidate C who combi all the good traits you want. It's either A or B. It's no solution not to v That is merely to say by your action that the Christian must remain al from concrete political activity, which is in turn a way of saying t Christian faith is irrelevant.

The Christian, therefore, has to realize that God has placed him in world *here and now*, and that he must be responsible here and now. cannot sigh and wait for the kingdom of God when the issues will be bl and white. He must choose now between the existing grays. The Bible c not show us people fulfilling God's will by twiddling their thumbs u things are tidied up. It shows us people doing God's will *right where t are*, in the midst of apparently uncreative, unpleasant situations: in a sla labor camp in Egypt; in a rotten city government in Bethel; unde despotic king named Solomon; in exile in Babylonia; under cruel Ro rule. It was in situations like those that people had to speak and act legislate and (if they could do none of these things) protest. And today are called to the same kind of responsibility.

Biblical Faith and Democracy: A suspicious reader who is wor about subversive tendencies might say, "You've been insisting that political system can receive our absolute and unqualified allegiance. Ma the Bible does imply this. But doesn't this mean that there is no difference between political systems—between, say, democracy and c munism?" Not at all. There are profound differences. The Christian to make a choice between such political systems. He asks himself, "W political system has the greater possibilities for approximating the of God in human life? And when he has answered the question, he r then pitch in and try to make the political system he chooses a better

Why must the Christian reject a totalitarian system such as commun Precisely because the totalitarian system repudiates the fundame

nciple of Biblical thinking. "You shall have no other gods before me." e totalitarian state says: "*I* am your god. You must worship me and me y shall you serve. If anything comes along and demands higher loyalty, it morality, religion, human decency, or anything at all, you must re-liate it and reject it thoroughly, because I demand your total allegiance." such a claim, no Biblically-minded person can submit. For this is an er repudiation of the living God.

In what way then is democracy closer to "Biblical thinking"? The wer is in terms of the Biblical view of man, with its recognition of both possibilities and limitations. Reinhold Niebuhr distills a lot of wisdom o the two lines when he says, "Man's capacity for justice makes demo-cy possible; but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy neces-y." The wisdom lies in the fact that belief in democracy is based *both* man's potentiality and on his corruption of his potentialities. While it realized that we can create just forms of government, it is also realized it we can destroy the instruments of justice which we create, or, even rse, twist them to our own purposes. Particularly as men gain power s temptation grows upon them. No man or group of men is "good" ough to have unlimited power over other men. And to see that no in-vidual or group of individuals gets unlimited power, a democratic society ovides for periodic elections, so that *all* people have a "say" rather than t a few. If "man's inclination to injustice" seems to be gaining the upper nd, members of a democratic society can protest against such totalitarian pulses by means of the ballot.

Another example of this kind of provision is contained in the American nstitution, which provides that no one branch of government shall have limited power, but that there shall be "checks" and "balances" by other anches of government. The founding fathers realized that democracy was t only "possible" (because of man's capacity for justice), but also ecessary" (because of man's inclination to injustice). Democracy thus akes it possible to guard against idolatry.

But, a suspicious reader asks, "Where's the catch?"

The catch is right here. It is always possible to become idolatrous about me particular version of democracy, such as the British version, or the merican version, or the French version. No existing system ever embodies l the qualities that it should, and the Christian will always have to be on ard to protest and root out those elements in the political life of his own ntry which perpetuate economic injustice, or exalt one race above other, or give extravagant powers to small groups. The struggle is never er. That is one reason why it is so exciting. ▼

. ROBERT MCAFEE BROWN / A professor of religion at Stanford University in California . Brown is a well-known Protestant theologian who has participated in numerous dialogues th Catholics and Jews. He has made a significant contribution to present-day religious under ndings through magazine articles, teaching, and books, including his most recent publication **bserver in Rome,** a diary of his day-by-day experiences as an observer at the Vatican Council ssions last year (see the September 13, 1964 issue of YOUTH magazine). The Bible and llots" is reprinted here by permission from **The Bible Speaks to You** by Robert McAfee Brown pyright 1955 by the Westminster Press.

COURTESY THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE INC

A UNION DEVICE.

Through the insight of the cartoon

by LOU ERICKSO

ART BY ERIC

Benjamin Franklin and Paul Revere were among those who drew nerica's first political cartoons. In those uneasy days of divided loyal- s and political undercurrents, these early "cartoonists" recognized d utilized a journalistic device that caught the eye, drove home a int, and provoked reflection.

Too many Americans today who can read are too busy; too many nericans, in more leisurely Colonial days, could not read. For such these, as well as their more literate fellow-colonists, Franklin sketched disjointed snake, labeling the separate pieces with abbreviations of

tory has been shaped by humor

e colonies symbolizing the struggles to unite the separate colonies. e captioned it, "UNITE—OR DIE." It invited comprehension at a ance. No more effective political cartoon has since been drawn.

One hundred years later, in another war, the political cartoons of nomas Nast caused Abraham Lincoln to comment: "Nast was our st recruiting sergeant. He never failed to arouse enthusiasm and triotism when it was needed most. . . ." Nast, whose creative pen oduced the Democratic donkey and Republican elephant that vigor- sly spar on today's editorial pages, waged, on behalf of his news- per, a war of his own.

His adversary was formidable, Boss William M. Tweed whose andalous political machine required only 20 months to graft 200 illion dollars from the treasury of New York City. Corpulent Tweed, s tremendous girth prohibiting him from sitting in an ordinary chair, d developed political corruption to an equal disproportion, offering ample target for the merciless jabs of Nast's caustic pen.

Because immigrants who comprised the political area's populace ere, for the most part, illiterate and news columns and editorial com- ent describing the voracious graft did not reach them, the people of at day understood and appreciated Nast's cartoons. Thus the resent- nt against the corrupt political machine increased daily.

Becoming desperate, Tweed sent emissaries to the cartoonist to fer him as much as $500,000 to take a ship to Europe, there to live mote from the local political scene which so disturbed him.

But Immigrant Nast was in love with his adopted land. Where else, 15, could a Bavarian boy embark on a career rewarded by cash pay- ent, regularly each week, of four dollars? Now the nation's most

THOMAS NAST IN HARPER'S WEEKLY, AUGUST 1871 / COURTESY THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE INC.

Tammany's fat Boss Tweed as portrayed by Cartoonist Thomas Nast

effective political commentator, with a flattering salary of five thous dollars a year, Nast wagged his pointed black beard vigorously. No.

His Tammany cartoons, increasingly devastating, continued to pear. Shortly, the Tweed Ring was unceremoniously dumped b disgusted electorate. Although the people could not all read, they c prehended—and acted upon—the satirical sting of a political carto

Caricature, essence of the political cartoon, was an immigrant was Nast. Hogarth, Daumier and da Vinci employed it in acid c ment on travesties of their times. Some were savage and raw, b protests against intolerance and ignorance, apathy and bigotry. Ot were ribald in their humor, aiming bursts of laughter against force social pretense and oppression. Laughter such as this is contemp its cruelest form. Countless stuffed shirts parading through the p of history have sagged and collapsed at its derisive sound.

In America, ridicule from pens of political cartoonists has never b more venomously utilized than that directed at our Civil War presid Lincoln was attacked bitterly by dissident caricaturists of the Nort well as the South. Britain, blockaded from trade with the Confeder retaliated with grotesque caricatures demeaning Lincoln in their n papers. The craggy homeliness of the man lent himself to gross merciless distortions. Yet Lincoln possessed that very rare political tue, an innate sense of humor—the ability to laugh at himself. Som the most scurrilous attacks on his integrity evoked guffaws of laug from the intended victim.

Today's political cartoonists are often con-
onted with similar dismaying evidences of good
ture in the ogres and tyrants they depict.
riginals of barbed cartoons are requested for
aming by those who are depicted to disad-
ntage. This tempers, somewhat, the smug satis-
ction of the cartoonist who had envisioned his
ctim writhing in the white heat of the artist's
iticism. However, occasionally, the modern car-
on commentator oversteps the limits of free-
om offered.

Last month the San Francisco *Examiner,* in a
nday editorial, apologized for an intemperate
awing that had appeared on its editorial page.
"Most contributors," the *Examiner* stated, "ob-
rve the bounds of good taste. Occasionally one
es too far. As, we regret, Mr. Jules Feiffer
es today. His cartoon . . . is a venomous sa-
e on Senator Barry Goldwater. It is unwar-
nted. It is unjust. It is extremism . . . in bad
ste. No partisan political significance should
inferred in our criticism of Mr. Feiffer's car-
on. We would feel similarly repelled if this
alicious approach was used in depicting any
ndidate of any political party."

Such instances of vindictiveness are rare, for
day's most strongly partisan cartoons seldom
rallel the barbarity that characterized earlier
merican efforts. The increasingly intelligent
d aware readership of today would refute the
ude distortions of Lincoln's day. Better in-
rmed, today we demand and get a more subtle,
owledgeable product.

A renaissance of caricature is evident. The old
mbols that have for so long been the mainstay
the political cartoon—the elephant, donkey,
xpayer, Uncle Sam—are receding into the back-
ound. Not without controversy, however.

In convention in the nation's capital, members
the American Association of Editorial Cartoon-

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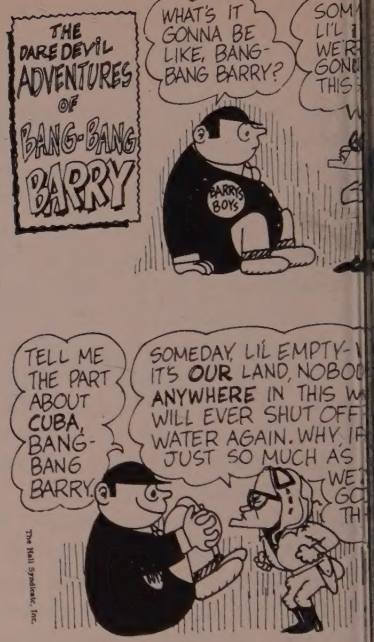
Lincoln's craggy homeliness aided cartoonists



When Jules Feiffer's cartoon (on the right) appeared recently in the **San Francisco Examiner,** its editorial-page writers apologized for what they felt was a venomous satire which was "unwarranted . . . unjust . . . in bad taste."

ists, individualists all, engaged in heated debate as to the merits
retaining the old symbols. They are traditional and familiar to t
public, remonstrated the conservatives. The donkey IS the Democra
Party; Uncle Sam IS America. Spokesmen for the "new wave"
political cartooning were equally adamant. Caricature, they insiste
is better than the symbol. Draw Goldwater and Miller—not the e
phant; Johnson and Humphrey—not the donkey. They conciliated a
decided to use symbols when caricature does not suffice. The heat
forum was dissolved amicably enough to enable the participants
assemble to meet with the President in the rose garden.

Bill Crawford, three-times-straight winner of Cartoonist of the Ye
award from the National Cartoonists' Society sees the magazine g
cartoonists of today becoming the political commentators of tomorro
He said that "the *New Yorker* bunch has perhaps the best batti
average. They settle for the light needle, the impression or satire
keep their readers awake. Not the old daily-Sunday punch to kno
'em dead."

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Television and wider use of photography in newspapers and magazines have given the political cartoonist more room in which to swing. His caricatures are more easily identifiable by the reader who has seen DeGaulle, Castro and Willie Brandt on the flickering screen in the family living room.

Regardless of style and interpretation, today's cartoonist must listen to every wave of social and political change that washes on the farthest shore. He is living in a shrinking world in an expanding universe. It is an apprehensive, restless, swarming world—crowded with too many bombs, too many babies. If he is to interpret this world in fact and in fairness, he must have abiding faith, deep convictions, strong loyalties —and a sense of humor.

That is a very large order. He is asked to deliver—daily and Sunday, seven days a week. I think he will. ▼

OU ERICKSON / As editorial cartoonist for **The Atlanta Journal**, Mr. Erickson is known to his llowers as "Eric." His political cartoons on pages 13 and 32 of this issue are reprinted by ermission of **The Journal** and by courtesy of Eric.

DILEMMA / O God, grant me the will to accept those things wh cannot be changed, the courage to change those things which can changed, and the wisdom to know the one from the other. Amen.

—REINHOLD NIEBUHR